UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Time for a Woman's Crusade

By SYDNEY STRONG

Let Us Bray!

By HARRISON BROWN

The Mahatma As a Feminist

By GOVINDLAL D. SHAH

A Challenge to the Federal Radio Commission

By KENNETH GLENDOWER DARLING

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Can the Teaching of a Religion of Conduct Be Separated from Doctrinal Religion?

To have suggested, not many years ago, that any religion could be split up into two parts—its fundamental doctrine of conduct, and its outward forms of worship, would have been rank heresy. It would have been argued that the ritual of baptism by immersion, for instance (which in a large part differentiated the Baptist from other Protestant churches), was a necessary part of the Baptist creed. You might practice all the virtues of the Beatitudes, but if you had not been immersed, you were not a Baptist, therefore not a Christian, with all that implied as to reputation on this earth, and glory in the next.

But today the picture has changed. The Church no longer insists on rigid conformity to its symbolisms. True, it retains them all, with their original lustre only slightly dimmed, but they are no longer the *sine qua non* to salvation here or hereafter. You can be a Baptist, and a *good* Baptist today, without ever having been immersed, or for that matter, having been baptised at all. As far as Christian fellowship goes, the gates of strict doctrinism have been raised; they are still there, but "whosoever will may come." In the recognition that this body of ritual is not the essential thing, and that religion can unbend and conform to existing needs, lies the hope of the Church. Its sphere of usefulness will widen as this understanding grows.

Students of theology have found (have lately been allowed to find) elements of good in all religions. Koran and Talmud and Bible have their own prophets, their own historical background, their own doctrine of reward and punishment, but the fundamental ethics of each are much the same. Each is concerned with the welfare of its group, and its spiritual growth. Its taboos, its commandments, and its moral code attempt to control the life of unreasoning man to the end that he consider his personal relationships in an unselfish, unworldly light; that he may live longer and more usefully; that he may rise above the beast; that he may adapt himself to nature and find himself in the universal scheme of things.

The time is ripe today for a recognition of the fundamentals of religion in its broadest sense. Let us define this new conception as a "reverence for life expressed in the search for truths which enable *all* men to attain their highest and best." But can this be done today? Can truth be searched and found? Or is she still the elusive lady of history for whom lovers have died in vain? I believe that modern science holds the answer. For hundreds of years man scanned the spiritual heavens; then he brought his tired gaze to earth and with that came the growth of our objective sciences; today the light of

(*Continued on page* 223)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CIX MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1932 Number 14

INDIA'S FOREIGN LEGION

(From an unwritten epic)

They rise without the bugle, they march without the drum,
Silent and sudden as the Dawn, unheralded they come:
Like sunrise on a desert land their battle lines advance,
The peasant of the Russian plains, the paladins of France;
John Lilburne and the Levellers, John Woolman and John Brown,
John Ball, John Huss, and all good Johns from John the Baptist down;
Wat Tyler and his men are there, Jack Cade is in the ranks,
The fallen foes of Castlereagh, the rebels and the "cranks,"
Lincoln and Paine and Garrison, Mazzini and St. Joan,
All who have dared for Liberty—
This battle is their own!

REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

Is UNITY anti-English in its attitude toward the Indian question? Not at all! It is not anti-English but *pro-Indian.* There might be any other ruling nation in India—America, as in the Philippines, or France, as in Morocco, or Holland, as in Java. We should still be opposed, as we are opposed in each one of these cases cited, to alien rule. We are for the Indians, as we are for the Filipinos, since we believe in the elementary right of a people to rule themselves. But we would make another and even more fundamental distinction, which has to do with the *anti* and not the *pro* side of our argument. For we do have an anti attitude in India, but this attitude is taken not against England but against the *Empire.* We are opposed to the British Empire, and the American Empire (to use Scott Nearing's perfectly accurate phrase!), and every other empire, just because they are empires. We think that the whole imperialistic idea is wrong. It is based at bottom on the use of force for the purpose of subjecting a weak people to the exploitation of a strong. The means of imperialism are arms, and the end is profit. On our desk, as we write, is a letter from a Dutchman, telling of the alarming business depression in the Netherlands. But there is nothing to worry about, he says, "for as long as they still possess the Dutch East Indies, they will have a source of income which will prevent the Dutch people from entering the poorhouse." Here is a perfect revelation of the meaning and purpose of imperialism. Holland is living on the exploitation of her dependencies, and England and other empires are doing the same. This is the reason, or the chief reason, why we "hate and despise" empires, as Amos hated and despised the "feast days" of his time. We would destroy them all. So it is the Empire to which we object in India, and not England. This may seem to be an artificial distinction, but it is fundamental to all right thinking and just feeling.

The Russian mobilization of four years' reserves is ominous. It puts chill into one's blood to recall that it was the Russian mobilization in 1914 which precipitated the Great War. Of course, conditions today are very different from what they were eighteen years ago. The present mobilization is not for war but for military maneuvers. The Russian government is now most decidedly not the government of the Tsar. This government has every reason not for going to war but for remaining at peace. We may be perfectly sure that, with her Five-Year Plan not yet completed and halting here and there, the Soviet regime is not going to plunge into hostilities against Japan or any other nation. But just this same fact—namely, the necessities of the Five-Year Plan—makes ominous the action of the Commissar for War in withdrawing thousands of young men from the factories and farms for army maneuvers on a grand scale. It is certain that, at the very least, this display is for the sake of impressing Japan with Russia's preparedness and power. But this sort of thing never helps such a situation as exists at this moment on the Manchurian border! On the contrary, unless all history is falsified, the marshalling of troops and the flourishing of arms are invariably the preliminary steps to war. With the militarists on the rampage in Tokyo and the Soviets in alarm in Moscow, it is difficult to be optimistic about affairs in Asia. What is most to be feared, we feel, is a certain desperateness in the situation in Japan. Ever since the Shanghai defeat, things have been going against the Empire—the army is humiliated, the treasury is bankrupt, business is ruined. Assassinations and bombings at home may early lead to wars abroad. Yet a conflict with Russia is itself so desperate, that we refuse to believe that the Japanese can precipitate actual hostilities unless they go altogether mad.

The Socialist Party has once again done credit to itself and a service to the nation in nominating Norman Thomas as its candidate for the presidency. Mr. Thomas is a man who has risen to high stature through

years of steady growth in knowledge, experience, intellect and character. His Socialism is frankly of the more moderate or liberal type, which draws the fire alike of the old-line Marxian on the right and of the new-line Communist on the left. It approximates, more nearly, perhaps, to the Socialism of the British Labor Party type than anything we have had in this country since this radical political movement first appeared. Just for this reason, Mr. Thomas is described by his enemies within the ranks as a progressive who has stolen the clothes of Socialism. But just for this reason, also, we believe, is Mr. Thomas the true leader of the trend which is destined to make American Socialism a native product of, rather than a foreign importation into, the political and economic life of this Republic. If there is anything uniquely significant of his two recent books, it is his success in making Socialism a real expression of American thought and idealism on social questions, and this with no sacrifice of essential Socialistic principles. Here is leadership of a high order, worthily recognized by the action of the Party in nominating Norman Thomas for the second time to the highest office in the land. Mr. Thomas's campaign will not carry through to victory. Not yet have the American people taken Socialism into their gaze as a possible solution of the pressing problems of our national life. Even as independent and gallant a man as Senator Norris sees no reasonable alternative to Mr. Hoover but Governor Roosevelt! But we venture to suggest that Mr. Thomas's discussion of current issues will have a pertinency, a courage, a breadth of vision, a constructive imagination, and a sheer knowledge of facts, which will put to shame his rivals. Watch Norman Thomas show the way in this campaign!

At last the secret is out, the mystery is solved. Now we know! For months past the eminent Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler has been acclaiming himself a liberal. Through all his life, a staunch and stalwart Republican, he has begun to thwack the protective tariff in a way to outdo the Democrats. During the War a militarist and Germanophobist of the most ferocious type, he is now an outspoken pacifist and internationalist. Always a champion of big business, he is suddenly calling in a loud voice for drastic reforms along lines of radical social control. At last, to cap the climax, the Columbia President has come out for the organization of a third party, calling upon the liberals of both the old parties to cast aside names and loyalties which no longer mean anything, and unite in the support of a program which he generously defines. It is this appeal for a new party which shows what is up. Nicholas Murray Butler's discovery of liberalism in his old age is no longer a mystery. During a whole generation, this venerable scholar has had a consuming ambition to be president of the United States. An active Republican, he has played the political game with scrupulous fidelity, swallowing everything the Republicans have stood for without a qualm, and at each succeeding election offering his distinguished name as candidate for the highest office in the land. Now this party wheelhorse sees himself coming to the end of his course with the prize unwon. He is an old man, with his last chance slipping away. Mr. Hoover is certain to be nominated this next month. The Republican party is headed for the rocks, with wreckage in sight. What can he do? Join the Democrats? That's not impossible, for a Nicholas Murray Butler! But he would be a late arrival, with many conspicuous candidates before him. No!—best step out of the old political groups altogether, and call for a new party which he will himself be so competent to lead! So now we know, the Columbia President has been campaigning all this time for the greater presidency in Washington. It's a clever even if a somewhat desperate move. The only trouble is that the liberals distrust Nicholas Murray Butler only a good deal more than the Republicans.

The Metropolitan Opera House of New York, once one of the great opera houses of the world, but long since fallen from this high estate, has just escaped extinction. By dint of shortening the season, slashing salaries, and generally reducing expenses, it has promised to go on another season. Even so it finds it necessary to flirt with Mr. Rockefeller's great commercial venture, Radio City, and may in due course be swallowed up and thus definitely lost to the nation as an institution of art. Of course the depression is to blame for this disaster, as it is for other disasters of the kind. Nothing is perhaps more ultimately tragic than the mortal blow delivered to all high interests of human life by the current financial collapse. The *New Republic* reports, for example, that "the Los Angeles Grand Opera is suspended for the period of the depression. Ravinia Park, near Chicago, which has long offered opera to the masses at modest prices, will make no presentation this summer. The Chicago Grand Opera is facing a deficit of half a million dollars. . . . In 1930, opera was heard in twenty-four cities; in 1931, the number was reduced to ten; and in 1932, it will be six." This matches the experience of Germany where a total of more than fifty opera houses has been reduced to less than twenty-five. Symphony orchestras are of course in the same plight. Painting, sculpture, and architecture, save only in Russia, are gasping for breath. Literature has fallen to such a pass, at least in Europe, that herculean efforts were organized in Germany this past winter to keep needy authors alive; and the same efforts in France were made conspicuous by the assassination of the late

President Doumer at an authors' salon given under distinguished social auspices and with government patronage. "Man does not live by bread alone"; his soul, as well as his body, must be nourished. Hence the tragedy of the slow extinction of the arts as a consequence of material catastrophe.

Clergymen are saying some bold things these days! The Detroit *Free Press* recently gathered together some current statements, and commented on them with serious concern. Here is Rev. Halford E. Luccock, of the Yale Divinity School, for example, declaring that it is absurd to send missionaries abroad to preach a religion which has not been able to save the United States from paganism.

> We have no right to expect miracles on the banks of the Ganges or the Congo if we have an ineffective message on the banks of the Hudson or of Lake Michigan (said Dr. Luccock). We cannot have a dynamic gospel for India or China unless we discover some fresh power, some deeper interpretation of life that will transform our civilization.

Reinhold Niebuhr, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, matches this indictment with a fierce repudiation of the Christianity now all too prevalent in our society.

> The Christian religion (he says) is becoming impossible in the eyes of the world because it is infused with self-righteousness, false piety, prejudices of the white race and antipathies of the privileged classes.

But these attacks are outdone by the declaration of Dr. S. S. Marquis, rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Cranbook (Michigan), before the Detroit Pastors Association. Christianity, said this doughty parson, "must be wiped out so that the religion of Jesus Christ may live."

> Christianity as it exists today still has in it some slight traces of the religion of Jesus—but Christianity is not the religion of Jesus (said Dr. Marquis). Christianity is the religion of Jesus crusted over and stifled by the accretions of centuries. The next step is to strip it of these and then give it an honest trial.

Statements of this kind contrast curiously with our editorial a week ago on the outspoken vision and courage of the churches in handling certain of the social problems of our day. Yet at bottom we find no contradiction here! For the church resolutions, quoted last week, are the utterances of leaders gathered together in conferences, as these declarations quoted above are similarly the utterances of leaders standing and speaking bravely in pulpits. There is a mighty stirring of the churches these days, especially among the ministers, but the great body of Christendom still remains inert, and untouched by the Christian spirit. What appalls is such a challenge at this of the *Free Press*.

> How account for the giddy rate at which standards of morals, honesty and ethics have deteriorated among us in the last two or three decades?

After two thousand years, the Christian churches must confess themselves ineffective, *beaten*. Can the situation be saved at this late hour?

Time for a Woman's Crusade

The more we ponder over disarmament, the more convinced we become that there is no solution but total immediate disarmament. Along with this conviction is growing up the belief that we must turn to the women (sorry confession for a man) to put this over. All this has been illuminated during the last twenty-four hours by attending a session of the Navy Commission at the League, and meeting several remarkable women. The spell that has covered the world cannot be broken, we think, except by some kind of a woman's attack. Maude Royden's proposal to march between the armies of Japan and China gives us a suggestion of what to expect when the women of earth get under way. Quixotic? Who says so? At any rate, a million times more sane than a hundred thousand Japanese and Chinese rushing to slaughter! Our ideas of sanity need revision.

While writing these words a note comes from Alice Stone Blackwell of Boston—able champion of human rights, journalist, author, linguist—daughter of Lucy Stone, who (supported by her husband) broke through the complacency and ice of the day and triumphantly—in spite of sneers and opposition of the scribes—led womanhood forth to new joys. Most great movements have been born thus. The temperance movement in America got really under way when bands of modest women entered the saloons, got down on their knees and prayed that God would melt the heart of the keeper to close up his saloon. Quixotic? May be, but it did the business. Carrie Nation, of Kansas. Crazy? Who says so? May be, but she woke up the citizens of Kansas and the land, to realize the presence of a demon in their midst. They are most insane who sleep when the house is in flames.

And now the session of the Navy Commission. It is true that the General Disarmament Conference is meeting very little, and this will be the case for some months. However, it is only fair to state that work is being carried on by several Commissions. This is the only method possible. The Navy Commission this morning was considering "aggressive" weapons. The discussion turned on capital-ships and aircraft. It lasted for three hours. Delegates hand in their names to the chairman, who calls them out. There is little spontaneous play of opinion.

The significant feature of the discussion was that the "needs" of a part of the states were quite opposite to the "needs" of another part. For example, Holland and Roumania regarded capital-ships as coming under the caption of "aggressive." Said Rouma-

nia, "States without capital-ships and heavy frontier guns must employ submarines against the aggressive action of large surface ships." Said Holland, "The larger and more heavily armed, the more offensive and efficacious against defense." Russia testified that she felt the aggressive character of capital-ships at Odessa, while Turkey also admitted that at the Dardanelles capital-ships were highly "aggressive." Others gave similar testimony—it being a good time for pertinent history reviews. . . . On the other hand, Senator Swanson did not regard capital-ships as coming under the head of "aggressive." He called attention to the fact that the 3-Powers, at London, had fixed on a treaty covering the matter of such ships, and it would be best not to disturb that agreement. (He was reminded that this Conference had the right to proceed *de novo* on any problem.) As to aircraft, they could not be named as "aggressive," for a part of their "function was to fight submarines." Thereupon, he was reminded by the German delegate, that aircraft, during the late war, had not been effective in fighting submarines. It was a game of seesaw. And the same is true of other discussions. It is like a cat chasing his tail, or like cutting off the dragon's head.

A major operation only will cure the sick world —*cut out the appendix.*

The conflict is an irrepressible one! War cannot be abolished, as long as arms are permitted to remain in the picture. Man must make up his mind to abolish arms or face war around the corner. Efforts in reduction will be time thrown away—while the sword of Damocles will be impending, I am compelled to conclude that immediate total disarmament is alone effective. How can the ice of complacency be broken? What can arouse the people from their sleep? What lead them to adopt the plain, direct method of abolition?

And here is where *the women come* in. These man-commissions are so complacent, so wrapped about by procedure, discussing with war-minds the way to peace—might as well look for strawberries on an iceberg. A woman-mind might break through all social restraint and win World-Peace for the race. At least there is more hope in the direction of woman than elsewhere. This belief has been strengthened the last twenty-four hours by meeting several remarkable women.

We heard Mrs Bridgman speak of South Africa. She is a sister of Jerome and Merle Davis. Born in Japan, she has spent thirty-five years in Johannesburg, where she went as a bride. Her purpose was to live with and for the native people, suddenly faced with the inundation of European civilization, which brought taxes and venereal diseases. She has seen the play of racial antagonisms, has seen the native people bereft of their land and moved from ancient moorings. All this has been a real tragedy, of which she was compelled to be a part. She lived among the gold-reefs of Johannesburg, which account for half of the world's output and accounts—gold discovered in 1886—for the coming of the greedy white men in numbers. She related the thrilling story of the upheaval of native population, brought from the kraals up to the Big City, and of what happened. She became interested specially in the girls—providing for them a home. This grew into hospitals and clinics. Her courage and faith were contagious, and others followed in her wake. Friends and money sprang up—and today a lower death-rate for children can be pointed to, and institutions of human comfort stand in witness.

What she has done is important, but even more important in our eyes is what can be done by the unerring instinct of a noble woman, who is moved for the accomplishment of a divine purpose. It leads us to have faith that woman can be best trusted with the divine work of abolishing war. What a woman for a crusade against war!

That afternoon, at 6:00, we accepted an invitation "to meet" Mrs. Corbett Ashby. If one wants to see Geneva and the League, best to carry credentials of the press! The reception was held in the rooms of the Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations. Mrs. Ashby is on the British delegation. At home, she is president of an organization promoting Equal Citizenship for Women. About fifty of us were gathered in the rooms. We were shown press clippings from the wide-world over, describing the great interest of women in disarmament. Apparently, nothing like this interest before. It shows a vast ocean of feeling and desire moving toward peace, which might be harnessed most effectively to abolish war. It was rather startling to have Mrs. Ashby step upon a chair to speak to us. A woman who can climb upon a chair at a reception, to speak, would make a fine Crusader. The aims of the women, as she outlined them, are high: "the achievement of universal disarmament" . . . "equal rights and security for all nations" . . . "the only safety lies in the abolition of war itself" . . . "women are the natural guardians of the home life of the people" . . . "weapons of offense should be abolished."

She spoke about "aggressive weapons"—the problem that at this moment is engaging the attention of the Commissions, as they attempt to pick these out. But she was confused, as all are, as the American Committee next day was. When you start out to prepare to kill others before they kill you, what is an "aggressive" weapon? We want such women as Mrs. Ashby to see that there is an irreconcilable conflict, in all attempts to reduce armaments, and to come right over into the realm of immediate total disarmament, in the abolition of all weapons (if some, why not all?)

—for them to come right over and start a crusade, counting not the cost, only to win!

Miss Woolley is the third woman. We heard her speak the same evening before the Anglo-Genevese Club. She is an able woman and a representative American. I venture to say that if she could witness the sinking of the last battleship and submarine, could turn all guns into Ford tractors—she'd travel far to pronounce the benediction. But she is one of a delegation, which is like a group of mountain-climbers who are tied together. (What would happen if a delegation should return to Washington its commission, because unable to vote according to their own judgments—we leave with you to guess.) Miss Woolley did not speak on Disarmament, but on A New Aspect of an Old Question. This was the education of college students, especially of women. She traced the growth in America of the idea of "female" education, from the latter part of the 18th century. Today marks the period of individualism. Youth is having a new sense of power, of responsibility. The tutorial method has come in, while the lecture method has disappeared. The impact of personality upon personality is being observed and cultivated.

We covet women like Miss Woolley for the Woman's Crusade, for we believe they would have skill to plot and plan for the overthrow of Mars. At any rate, perhaps the students of Holyoke will some day strike, in sympathy for a Peace movement. While Miss Woolley was speaking, I was looking beyond her to some of the adventurers in her own Connecticut Valley, who led crusades—the Edwardses, the Beechers, the Moodys; and of course Mary Lyon, pioneer in woman's education—the Holyoke idea having been transplanted the world over, all the way from California to Cape Town. Where is the Mary Lyon—the quiet country girl from the hills who through faith subdued kingdoms—who will beard the lion in his den, and, if need be, by some spectacular action, rally the forces of peace, to the complete overthrow of Mars? Perhaps, we are addressing her at this moment. She has a charter from Miss Woolley to become a rebel, in the words, "Youth is having a new sense of power, of *responsibility*." This age is calling for a Joan of Arc—some girl of Holyoke—to rally the forces of heart and brain to drive from all lands this beast-invader, War. She may be crucified by the Pharisees and Pilates, but will be named with reverent breath by many generations.

Then, there is Alice Paul. At the heart of Geneva is a fine hotel called "Hotel de Russie" (a pre-Revolution name, and by the way the Soviet delegation puts up at the "British Pension"). On the front of this fashionable hotel is a sign with big letters—easily read a block away—*National Woman's Party of the United States—Committee on International Relations.* It was during these twenty-four hours that we went over and called, and there in a large, ground-floor room, met Alice Paul. If she were not so young looking, I should refer to her as a veteran in the Suffrage Cause. Her record was written in Washington and in Heaven in the days when the battle for Women's Suffrage waxed hottest. What is she doing in Geneva? Backed up by some of the finest women in the world (of many nations) she is doing what the woman was doing before the door of the "unjust judge"—imploring the League of Nations, when the Code is made, to tolerate no *inequalities based on sex.*

The Woman's Party is also asking that the United States make as a reservation if it enter the World Court that the Code of Laws shall not contain inequalities based on sex. This better be granted quick lest women demand superiority based on character.

And, what shall we say of Mrs. Lola Lloyd, Anna Graves and Amy Woods, with whom we had long talks during that twenty-four hours. Mrs. Lloyd is right at the front of any attack on War. We heard of her a year ago, when Einstein passed through Chicago. She telegraphed for 500 "Einstein 2% Buttons" for an organized reception for the great scientist-pacifist. You realize when you meet her that the Crusade is under way. Anna Graves is a great democrat and believes in equality. She has spent years in China, is Russia, in the Near East, in the Gold Coast and Liberia—living among the people. She believes that the differences between races are negligible. Just now she is in Geneva in the interests of fair play and freedom in Liberia. She is working with the League of Nations on the matter as direct as an arrow goes for its mark. Amy Woods is watching the disarmament Conference, has newspaper connections and on the side is publishing a book on "The Sino-Japanese Conflict."

Women like these are highly intelligent and unpurchaseable. They lead us to believe, that enough Woman-Crusaders going forth to abolish War and the Weapons of War would be invincible.

This is our Creed today: 1. Total Disarmament, Now. Abolition of all Arms. Refusal even to discuss reduction, since involving irreconcilable antagonisms. 2. An uncompromising Woman's Crusade for Abolition.

Who will start a world-wide Crusade, resolved to abolish arms—regardless of consequences? It may mean praying-bands kneeling around the enlisting boards or in front of the War Offices. It may mean strikes by students and workers for total abolition of war machines. It may mean storming the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The people must be aroused. We must all study how to do it. Small groups must grow to bands, to companies, to a mighty throng of

people determined to "know one thing," namely the complete abolition of arms.

The question is passed on to the women of the International League Meeting, this month, at Grenoble, France.

May the unconquerable, crusading spirit of Mary Lyon, Lucy Stone and Lucretia Mott fall upon the youth of today in shop, field and school. May things begin to happen!

SYDNEY STRONG.

Jottings

Be not discouraged! Geneva may accomplish little, but the cause of disarmament is marching on. See the following notice in the Kennebunk (Me.) *Star*, May 6th:

FOR SALE: .40-.65 Rifle, or will exchange for hens. Mrs. Frank Hatch, Cat Mousam Rd., Box 36, Kennebunk, Maine.

According to the "wets," a tax on legalized beer will balance the national budget and cure all our economic ills. Curious that England and Germany haven't found this out! These nations tax beer at a rate never yet proposed in this country, yet they still seem to have their troubles in balancing budgets and relieving unemployment.

Shri Meher Baba, an Indian mystic, has kept a vow of silence for seven years. He has arrived in this country and will now resume his speech. But why? Is there anything that America needs more than a little silence?

Weeks ago President Hoover started a campaign against hoarding. The people must not hide away their money, but bring it out and put it to work! Now we read about immense sums of money in the banks, and the difficulty of getting any of it on loan. Is this true? If so to any degree, who is guilty of hoarding?

Russia shoots her capital offenders, England hangs them, France guillotines them, and the United States (prevailingly) electrocutes them. Society seems to have a hard time making up its mind as to what is the best way of doing the worst thing.

In the effort to raise the price of coffee, Brazil has destroyed to date 6,244,897 sacks. This is the latest illustration of the principle that capitalism's chief product, if it is to prosper, must be *scarcity*. Produce a scarcity of food, clothing, shoes, houses, and all is well!

J. H. H.

Let Us Bray!

[From Our Special Correspondent]

"Of making elections there is no end, but much politics is a weariness to the flesh," so might a modern paraphrase run. In Germany we had two ballots for the Presidential Election in March, on two successive Sundays, followed on April 10th by elections to five provincial Parliaments. Then came the French General Elections, postponed by Tardieu until Prussia had voted in the hope that Hitler's gains would frighten the country and make it forget the scandals of his own regime and the bankruptcy of his nationalist policy.

Compared with Britian the Continent has not done so badly. In Germany, where the appeal of demagogy is at least comprehensible, the demagogues have not quite swept the board. In France it is a victory of the petty bourgeois, demagogues of the Right being replaced by demagogues of the Center-Left. It is at least satisfactory to see the defeat of the armament manufacturers despite all the shameless corruption with which they supported their puppets Tardieu and Flandin. France is a country in which the small shopkeeper, etc., traditionally calls himself "Left," especially after a long spell of costly and unsuccessful government by the Right. It does not mean that he thinks for himself or stands for experiment in government, on the contrary in the circumstances it proclaims him an unthinking conservative blindly supporting "Republican Principles" and the memory of the Revolution without even being aware that economic feudalism has long since made the Revolution a mockery. Neither from his backing nor from his own character dare we build too great expectations of progress on Eduard Herriot.

But Herriot has a great chance, his second one in fact. In 1924 he was carried to power by just such a sweeping victory. He was then implored to publish the accounts of the previous regime and had he done so Poincare's teeth would have been drawn. But to say that Herriot showed moral cowardice then would be to flatter him grossly; he whined and whimpered and trembled and begged, until the Elections whose signal defeat of reaction and militarism had revived hope all over Europe were completely betrayed and, following the customary procedure in France, Cabinet reconstructions without popular elections re-installed Poincare and his fanatical chauvinism. In any other profession than politics Herriot would have been ruined forever by such conduct, but democracies have no memory.

Since then Europe has run the gamut of political emotionalism. Herriot had evacuated the Ruhr, then came Locarno, a worth-while attempt despite the naive comment of America. But the promise of Locarno was also betrayed, by the weakness of Briand in the face of Poincare's threats and by the inability of Chamberlain to understand the meaning of honesty in policy. In the anarchy of today it is almost impossible to recall the optimism of the Briand-Stresemann period when Europe really seemed to be heading at last for

sanity. Stresemann defied his nationalists at home and sought by conciliation to bring his country back into the family of nations as an equal, which of course implied progressive release from the more ferocious terms of the Versailles Treaty. But British, French and Belgian troops continued to occupy the Rhineland long after Chamberlain had received the Nobel Peace Prize for promising British support to Germany in case of French aggression! In the face of such flagrant hypocrisy it was inevitable that nationalism should become rampant in Germany. Subsequent history has been that of a vicious circle spinning ever more rapidly; nationalism in Germany has been opposed by increased intransigeance in Paris and stupidity in England, and this in turn has led to the worsening of the economic crisis by national measures which feed the flames of chauvinism as much as they increase the general sickness. And now comes Herriot with a chance to change things. He follows a regime which must have beaten the record for corruption, almost every member of Tardieu's Cabinets were at some time involved in scandals which showed the wholesale fleecing of the French tax-payers by their "representatives." The nationalists not only isolated France politically but also wrecked the brilliant financial status of the country. If Herriot were to reverse almost everything they did he would not only deserve well by his compatriots but would revive world confidence in France.

It is a sorry spectacle, this world of ours today, and one in which everything calls so loudly for change that one can only marvel that the term "conservative" is not an insult! Cant and bluff at home and tyranny abroad is the rule with most of the Great Powers. In India Britain returns to the knout and in Parliament Sir Samuel Hoare lies about it so boldly that even Winston Churchill "rises to express his full agreement." In South Africa the Hertzog Government struggles with the usual financial situation whilst at the same time it seeks to pass its vicious Bill of comprehensive Native Policy which embodies the desires of the most blackguardly elements in the country, and which amongst other things would reduce all native tenants to farm laborers. Japan launches on the policy of theft previously adopted by the Western Powers and gets away with it by playing off the cupidity of one against the other. In so doing she destroys the prestige of the one instrument whose development might have saved Western Civilization from itself, which victory over the League of Nations is pronounced a triumph by the gutter press of Beaverbrook and Rothermere. The former ran a long campaign against the League on the grounds that it was a scandalous waste of taxpayers' money, the papers did not mention that Britain spends less on the League than the British Navy does each year on stationery! The explanation is simple, of course, the League was intended to become an insurance against war and the Press Gang everywhere loves war as a vulture loves carrion. Incitement to murder is a crime, but the fortunes of the Hearsts of the world are built upon incitement to mass murder. At Geneva the Powers vie with each other in hypocrisy about disarmament, again Russia alone appears to be sincere and again the vested interests of Christendom laugh out of court the "bluff" which they have no intention of calling. Meantime paralysis creeps over such human activity as is not engaged in preparing for destruction. From Helsingfors to Melbourne and from Frisco to Berlin the wheels of industry slow down, suicides increase and man sinks to demoralization from under-nourishment. Intolerance inevitably increases as Authority endeavors to suppress with violence those who have no cause for loyalty to a moribund civilization. Call a man a communist and anywhere outside Russia you pronounce him an outlaw; the "rugged individualism" of which Mr. Hoover is so strangely proud seems bent on running to its logical conclusion of chaos and suicide. In such a society it is inevitable that scum should come to the top more often than cream, we have made a paradise for crooks like Ivar Kreuger and for half-wits like Lady Houston.

But it is unnecessary to continue the account of a world less sick than mentally deficient. None but the most despairing cynic can believe that man is incapable of devising an economic system and political rules less cruel and more efficient than the present. From the demagogic peace of Versailles down to the present moment the politicians have lied to the peoples on every fundamental fact and issue. From the fatuous self-righteousness of the Americans about their war activities, through the imbecile scream of the Allies that "The Boche shall pay," down to the ramp of Hitler and Hugenberg that reparations alone are responsible for the crisis in Germany, all has been lies, lies and lies. Now the peoples begin to suspect what the politicians have always known, that the promises made to them cannot be kept. Some begin also to realize that a system based on rivalry cannot admit of cooperation. What the peoples do not yet see is that without cooperation they cannot exist and that, sooner or later, the alternative with which we are confronted is complete reversal of the system or a progressively violent decline. Both by its supporters and its opponents surprise has been expressed that the capitalist system should have stood so well the shocks of the past eighteen months. The answer is that it has not done so. We should really be living in the millennium! For the first time in history man has discovered the means of satisfying his material needs without resort to a slave class. On the one hand we have millions anxious to consume the goods which, on the other hand, millions of machines are waiting to produce. But the machines stand idle and the people starve. A financial system which permits such a monstrosity cannot be said to be functioning and it seems as idle for the capitalists to deny this fact as it is for their opponents to draw hasty conclusions about the inevitability of its immediate demise.

Capitalism has already broken down, as the millions of unemployed are aware. The facade which stands is not a tribute to the strength of the system but to the ability of vested interests to camouflage defeat. Capitalism stands today by abandoning its own rules and monkeying with its own organs. From MacDonald's dole to Hoover's revolving fund it is the story of subterfuges to disguise a breakdown. Capitalism would probably have continued to work for years, *tant bien que mal,* in a world of unrestricted trade; but such a world is not possible inside the system, for individualism implies egoism, egoism short-sightedness and that in turn leads to artificial restrictions of trade which in times of crisis lead to the present fantastic situation.

A bluff civilization must either change itself or be fed on more bluff. M. Herriot will not install col-

lectivism and the only financial reform he is likely to undertake is to see that the secret funds are distributed to Tardieu's enemies instead of to his friends as previously! The only question which arises is whether he will do the one big job open to him, which is to improve Franco-German relations sufficiently to enable the international financial system to be tinkered with in the same way that national systems are being tinkered. This would provide a new lease of life to capitalism and for a time considerably relieve distress. But it requires courage and good-will from both sides. French policy has not changed one iota since the war, she has stood pat on the status quo and has not pretended to look farther ahead than two generations. A warless world is still to French Statesmen the pipedream of muddle-headed Anglo-Saxons. It is idle to expect the sudden reversal of this policy. We should have cause for gratitude if much less was accomplished; if for instance the Franco-Italian naval question was settled and the London Treaty signed by them. If France ceased to talk so much nonsense about the "sanctity of treaties" and merely made the lunatics of Warsaw understand that French support for Poland was conditional on civilized behavior.

On the German side we should have cause for gratitude if Bruening ceased trying to play poker hands without holding any cards, thereby risking the happiness of millions, if he recognized that today at least France is strong and Germany very weak and that the first essential for Germany is a period of respite from more international shocks. From afar Germany appears to be in a turmoil and in many ways she is. But Bruening knows that he can remain master in the house for as long as he chooses. The more firmly the Germans are governed the better they like it; after disbanding the Nazi's military organizations as if they were a village fire-brigade, it is impossible for the Chancellor to make the world believe that he is being much pressed from behind, Bruening himself and alone is responsible for the nation's foreign policy; the people are hungry, weak and discouraged and will follow resolute leadership in any direction. It seems up to him to consider whether he cannot set a price for tranquility which the French would be foolish not to accept, a price which would involve no dramatic volteface for either but which would give the appearance of progress in the three questions of reparations, treaty revision and disarmament.

Such a development should please almost everybody and therefore start a boom! The capitalists would be relieved of the bogey of immediate ruin, and amongst them the young and optimistic would hail the opportunity for reform against renewed black periods. The majority of course would promptly forget the crisis and by an orgy of conservatism and the repetition of past mistakes would set about preparing the next and probably final breakdown. The radicals on the other hand should welcome escape from a "revolutionary situation" for which obviously neither the masses nor their leaders are prepared. The Churches would be able to praise God for answering their prayers for deliverance and the politicians would be enabled for once to feed Herriot's vanity in all sincerity. Only the moralists might perhaps frown, but even they would be unlikely to escape the boom.

HARRISON BROWN.

A Retrospect—The Mahatma As a Feminist

Days following days in quick succession, weeks overlapping weeks and months following fast on the heels of months, thus ended the most glorious year (1931) in the history of the Indian nation since the passing away of Lord Buddha. The fight inaugurated by our saint-statesman, Mahatma Gandhi, has come and gone, but the memories of those epic days linger forever. In one single year our Aladdin has with his magic wand achieved the greatest revolution known to history. There has been a revolutionary awakening among the masses and the classes, among the peasants and the princes, among the orthodox and the atheist, among the aged and the young, among children and women; a revolution in our political, economic and social ideas and ideals. There has been a revolution in our views of the British government, the British administration of justice, and the British sense of law and order. There has been a revolution in every department of our lives. *We are breathing revolution in our breaths!*

As he embarked on his Great March in 1930, Mahatmaji beckoned, "Arise, ye, women! and fill your place," and in thousands they came from their hearths and homes, from the arms of their beloved and from under the heels of their oppressors. As warriors they came, as warriors they fought, as warriors they fell. There was not a single fight in the great non-cooperation campaign in which they were not at the front. Whether in the "war-councils" or in the "war," in the salt-fights or in the red-cross, under the *lathis* or before the bullets, in shouting "Jais" or in going to jails, in picketing or in processions, under the heels of horses or the "steels" of men, they played their part gloriously and well.

Without claiming equality, the women of India have proved themselves equal to men against all odds—social, economic, educational — against all customs, usages and traditions, they came to battle, and theirs is the glory of the fight and the pride of the victory. Theirs was the suffering, theirs the sacrifice, theirs is the scarf of triumph. *In war they bore the cross, in victory they wear the crown!*

The greatest contribution of our non-violent war, the greatest legacy of Mahatmaji to the nation, has been the restoration to the nation of its other half. Now has Indian realized herself, and her own potentialities. In doing justice to her women, India has done justice to herself. Wars of independence may come and go but this awakening of women remains forever. In assigning to her other half its proper station in the order of her social and political life, is the greatest achievement of the Indian people.

GOVINDLAL D. SHAH.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Strength

I am the blade of grass
That moves a ton of earth;
I am the sudden joy
That changes pain to mirth;
I am the hidden sound
That makes all music sweet;
I am the steady march
Of onward moving feet;
I am the soul of love
That gives the world new life;
I am the dawn of peace,
The harbinger of strife;
I am the doubt that digs
Through lies to gain the Truth;
I am the strength of God—
I am Youth!

HELENE CLAIBORNE.

World Unchanging

Alone and quiet I walk the streets today
And hear the countless, old, familiar cries,
Half-wondering if helpless men must pay
For bread with blood; and hear again the lies
Condoning war, the pious platitudes
Of saintly men. I never count the old
And commonplace—law-suits and petty feuds,
Unlawful claims—but that my hopes grow cold.

Must brother strangle brother, race eat race
Because of some peculiar, loathesome creed?
Must hearts be crushed and souls be turned to base
And ready merchandise because of greed?
I wonder, walking down each noisy street,
What world my children will tomorrow greet.

HOLLAND PATTERSON.

Brown Study

The "Cut Price Living"—a small eating house,
Displays some relics of Pompeii
That pass for food:
Two withered sausages, a chunk of dried-up meat,
Brown gravies—God knows what,
In the depths beyond, the hole looks ashy,
Even the brown-skinned man.

Yet life—dear life!—is kept by some such means.
Coarse bodies, rough and blemished skins.
Can rapture feed on greasy sausages?
Can planets talk of miracles to those
Who shut the door on smell of flesh and dust
When they confront the night?

Who has cheated such as these
Of power to lift a clean, unblemished body,
A light and joyful heart to greet the moon?

MARY OWEN LEWIS.

What Blinded Them?

They feasted well on aging wine,
And gorged themselves with greed;
While councilors were stupor bound
The hellish brute was freed.

The bugle call was piercing clear
And vibrant youth was thrilled;
But women knew and women wept
And men now grey were chilled.

It blew another shivering blast
That whipped the flames still higher,
It thundered down the voice of peace
Then raised the flags of fire.

O bugle tell, what blinded them
To bodies maimed and torn?
To souls enmeshed in stubborn hate,
And chains for those unborn.

Did rising power challenge pride?
Was rank the goal they sought?
Or was it lusting thrones of greed
For which they bravely fought?

Bugle, bring back our boys again,
We cannot build with hate.
Let courage lead with faith and light,
And rear a warless state.

HENRY E. SWENSON.

Progress

Who love shall live,
Who live must learn,
Who learn shall grow,—
God willed it so.

ANTON ROMATKA.

A Challenge to The Federal Radio Commission

[The United States Senate recently passed a resolution directing the Federal Radio Commission to institute an investigation of American broadcasting as conducted under commercial auspices. The magnitude of the issue involved merits the serious consideration of all citizens of social vision. The action of the Senate in this matter offers, it seems to me, a timely opportunity for the expression of public sentiment in terms of some such challenge as the following addressed to the Chairman of the Commission.]

Sir:—

I am advised that you are contemplating a thoroughgoing inquiry into the present status of radio broadcasting, with special reference to commercial advertising. May I take the liberty to submit a few relevant observations, from the twofold standpoint of a radio listener and of a citizen interested in contemporary social tendencies.

First, as to the character of the programs themselves. Apart from a few admirable Sunday features (embracing classical music of the first order), some notable week-day musical numbers practically all of which go on the air at so late an hour as to be unavailable to anyone save the members of the leisure class, the distinguished interpretations of current events by Messrs. H. V. Kaltenborn and Frederick William Wile, several good book reviews, and such sporadic items as outstanding political pronouncements, radio offerings are restricted very largely to an inane, vulgar, and not infrequently degenerate potpourri alike insulting to the intelligence and offensive to the most elementary aesthetic sensibilities!

Witness, for example, the widely heralded current-events talks of Lowell Thomas, sponsored by the *Literary Digest,* with their professed appeal to the intelligentsia, and the announcer's oft-repeated emphasis on the speaker's singular background and equipment for "interpreting" the news "from the inside." While it may be an unwarranted assumption that even the educated element—in this or any other country—is seriously concerned with self-improvement, it is not unreasonable, I submit, to expect that the chronicler should be at least entertaining and that he should show a decent regard for the minimum intelligence and sense

of proportion of the average adult. On the contrary, in these *Literary Digest* news "interpretations," not only are the truly significant movements and events of contemporary life, as a rule, either wholly neglected or else dismissed with a cursory sentence, and trivial, often puerile incidents, of no conceivable interest save to those immediately concerned, expanded to absurdly undue proportions, but a very substantial part of the period is wasted on fatuous irrelevancies, such as the identity and antecedents of the person who has chosen the "item of the day!"

A still more striking exhibit, in some respects, is afforded by the famous "Amos and Andy" dialogues, which, in spite of their moronic banality and their dreary monotony, maintain their fixed place in the radio firmament year after year, with unabated luster, while lesser luminaries—such as the genial and delightfully intimate travel talks of Carveth Wells, and the inimitable analyses of contemporary European trends by James H. Powers, of the *Boston Globe*—pursue their inconspicuous course through the heavens and decline to an ignominious nadir of oblivion within the brief interval of a few months. But the adventures of Amos and Andy at least make no such cultural pretensions as do the reviews sponsored by the *Literary Digest*.

Again, consider the tone of the "musical" numbers. Fully ninety-five per cent of such material, I should say, consists of jazz of a thoroughly debased type, featuring, in addition to the familiar disintegrating rhythm, the revolting extraneous noise effects that have contributed to convert this form of entertainment into a medium of expression for impulses of the most depraved and salacious character. To this category belongs also the disgusting vocalistic phenomenon known as "crooning," which recently drew from Cardinal O'Connell some of the most eloquent and caustic of his strictures upon current social abuses.

Secondly, I would invite your attention to the element of salesmanship. Leaving out of account the exaggerated—if not actually spurious—claims of excellence advanced for many of the products in question, there remains what I feel can be justly characterized only as a criminal invasion of the dignity and sanctity of the American home and as a serious menace to the basic requirements of a well-poised mind and a sound nervous constitution. The accelerating pace of modern commercial and industrial life, and the consequently increasing obsession of business-mindedness, demand, in the interest both of nervous recuperation and of proper mental balance, frequent periods of respite during which one's thoughts may be directed along channels as remote as possible from those that claim the energies of the daily vocational routine. Unfortunately, the jaded victim is no longer in a position to elude the insistent appeal of commercialism through a week-end escape to the country; for he is confronted at every turn by the relentless high-power salesmanship of billboards. Similarly, on the streets of our cities, not even the advent of nightfall brings relief, owing to the inexorable suggestions conveyed by ubiquitous illuminated advertisements. And now the final bulwark against the onslaught of "Business first"—the home—is crumbling under the assaults of our radio broadcasters, the prophets of the saving graces of dental pastes, cough remedies, breakfast foods, fur coats, automobile tires, cosmetics, cigars, and, last but not least, chewing gum!

Apropos of the last item, to what depths have the captains of our vaunted industrial system—the virtual dictators of American social institutions—fallen that they should instigate, or even sanction, such a betrayal of the eager romanticism of our youth as is presented by the vulgar blandishments of the Wrigley hour, with its wheedling hocus-pocus of invitation to Indian tribe-membership,—a mélange of bogus appeals to the child's love of mystery, adventure, and rivalry and of sordid commercial acquisitiveness, whose sole objective is the further stimulation, among our young people, of the admirable and decorous practice of gum-chewing!

The upshot of these observations is, I think, fairly clear,—namely, the imperative need for a transfer of control of radio broadcasting from selfish financial individualists, pandering to the lowest common denominator of public taste, to an impartial Federal commission concerned primarily with the best interests of the public from the standpoint, at once, of recreational and educational values. Such a reallocation of control could be most effectively secured, it seems to me, by the substitution of a system modeled, in its broad outlines, after the English pattern, its guiding principles being (1) the elimination of all commercial advertising, (2) governmental supervision of the subject matter of the programs, and (3) the imposition, upon receiving sets, of a tax sufficient to cover the operating costs.

KENNETH GLENDOWER DARLING.

Values

(Extract from a private letter from the former English correspondent of UNITY*)*

"Every age seems to have its dominant note, and the dominating note of this age is likely to be the word 'values.' The hollowness of creeds having been exposed, we are falling back upon what seem to us moral certitudes which, in various degrees, we pronounce upon according to their *value*. The scientist will say *'What* value? *Survival* value? *That* is completely non-moral.' Moreover, the old God may still have survival value for hosts of people, and even whole races. As to *moral* values, it is not clear how far they are distinct from survival values; which is true also of *ideal* values. Science is becoming less and less sure of ultimate reality, and less and less hopeful of ever coming to perceptive knowledge of it. What assurance have we that our ethical and ideal values have any relation at all to ultimate reality; that, in fact, they are anything less illusive than our old friend *'survival'* value? In which case they lose their authority, they are stripped—bare impostures like those that went before us; *moral* agnosticism succeeds theistic or even theological agnosticism, and we are back to chaos—like Tennyson's defeated and disillusioned King Arthur—our whole realm of values 'reels back into the heart, and is no more.' To my mind that is the appalling possibility waiting behind the erasure of God. Perhaps one day, one of you clever young writers will succeed in quieting my fears."

WALTER WALSH.

The Study Table

Book Notes

A Refutation of the Versailles War Guilt Thesis, by Alfred von Wegerer. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. 386 pp. $3.00.

It is the testimony of Harry Elmer Barnes, who himself did pioneer service in exploding the German war guilt myth, that Alfred von Wegerer stands at the top of the list of those who have devoted time, money, and energy to the refutation of the war guilt theory embedded in the minds of the Allies and embodied in the Versailles treaty. This work was first published in Germany in 1928, where it received wide commendation. The author is rightly convinced that there can be no permanent peace in Europe till Germany is freed from the charge of causing the war. He marshalls documents and logic in behalf of his thesis that the Versailles verdict of German guilt should be set aside. An indispensable volume for students of the subject and for all who want to establish justice in international relations.

The Approach to Religious Education, by Basil A. Yeaxlee. The Macmillan Company New York. 143 pp. $1.25.

A helpful volume for teachers of religion. The author is convinced that both the teacher and his teaching should be rightly related to the total environing situation; that the teacher must have a philosophy as well as a vocation. That the knowledge of experts in various fields should be available for teacher and pupils is the author's thesis, and the book is a development of this point of view.

The Devil in Legend and Literature, by Maximilian Rudwin. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. 354 pp. $3.00.

In my theological school days I was much distressed to find that his Satanic majesty was seriously neglected. Although attending an orthodox seminary, I heard next to nothing about the Devil. There was no systematic treatment of his life, power, and works. I felt that as an important figure in sacred literature he should be given his proper place in the curriculum. Perhaps this neglect was due in part to the lack of a comprehensive text. If so, Maximilian Rudwin has gone far toward meeting the need. While not treating the subject philosophically, he has nevertheless approached the matter scientifically and historically. It is said that Rudwin has a better acquaintance with the Devil than any other living man, and certainly this well-documented volume bears out the report.

Religious Realism, Edited by D. C. Macintosh. The Macmillan Company. 502 pages. $3.00.

By Religious Realism the editor means "the view that a religious Object, such as may appropriately be called God, exists independently of our consciousness thereof," and that such Object is "related to us in such a way that through reflection on experience in general and religious experience in particular" we may gain either a verified knowledge or a tenable faith, not only that such Object exists but also within limits as to what its nature is. On this more or less common ground meet philosophers and theologians from the dualistic left and the monistic right, the theological left and the theological right.

In general it is agreed that religion is essentially an adjustment of man to cosmic activities, and that the starting point is a relationship with the universe as described by the scientist.

One of the most provocative chapters is that by Montague in which he modernizes the trinity. The world taken in its distributive plurality of existential and subsistential beings, preconscious and prepersonal, is "God the Father." The world taken now collectively in its integrated and personal unity is "God the Son." The same world taken in its unending activity of fructifying its own independent and self-existing parts is "God the Holy Ghost."

Obviously the Scholastics did not exhaust dialectical possibilities.

What Is There Left to Believe? by Herbert Parrish. Sears Publishing Company. 277 pp. $2.50.

In which it appears that we may believe in "the cosmic consciousness" which is not merely a Supreme Being but which "combines all the excellences of all the faiths and all the sciences that man has ever known." Moreover, in the subconscious mind, where both good and evil grow, we may carefully plant "the Logos or some aspect of the Logos of God, which is the word or the thought of God," and, lo, the power of faith will be manifest. And, furthermore, faith would not be faith if it were not a leap in the dark. It would seem that there is still too much left to believe!

John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism, by Quirinus Breen. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan. 174 pp.

Mr. Breen has rendered a real service, not only by reminding us that the Reformation is the child of Humanism but also in showing specifically John Calvin's early contacts with leading humanists of his day and his identification with French humanism up to at least 1532. By the early thirties the great humanist masters had done their work, humanism had gone too far in the direction of pure intellectualism, and younger scholars were beginning to think of the rights of the common people.

Following his conversion, which probably occurred in 1534, Calvin, while retaining his humanistic passion for intellectual honesty, added to it great concern for the common man. His humanist "mental set" carried over into his use of critical apparatus in the study of the Scriptures and the official histories of the Church, and helped form his canons of good taste. His belief in independent judgment and his theory of "common grace" no doubt hail from his humanist period. It is interesting to speculate on the trends that might have developed in early humanism had Calvin remained true to its spirit, added democratic passion to intellectual liberty, and devoted his great ability to the organization of free souls in a free society. What a pity that he was converted!

The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932. Edited by Monroe N. Work. Tuskegee Institute. $2.00.

The eighth edition of the Negro Year Book, the standard reference work on the Negro for both the general reader and the student, shows distinct improvement over former issues, especially in the arrangement of matter. The subject matter is divided into well organized parts. The first four parts deal, respectively, with the Negro in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and Africa. Part five deals with the Negro in poetry and the fine arts. Then follow fifty pages of

excellent brief reviews of books on or relating to the Negro, published from 1925 to 1930. Part eight is a directory of Negro newspapers, agencies, and organizations. The last part shows the racial distribution of mankind.

Of especial interest to religious educators is the summary of the conclusion and recommendation of the various Commissions and Conferences that are studying and fostering inter-racial cooperation. One of the most promising of such organizations is the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was organized in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1918, and which is composed of about 100 Southerners, both white and colored. This Commission, while believing that its results thus far are gratifying, finds that certain new approaches are necessary. It now wants to attack the tradition-bound mass mind by doing something effective to improve the economic, educational, and juridical conditions in the rural black-belt, by introducing into the school system instruction designed to create objective and open-minded interracial attitudes, by safeguarding the economic future of the Negro, and by the scientific study of segregation. But most significant is the committal of the Commission to the effort to find means by which intelligence and character, irrespective of race, may participate legally in the rights and duties of citizenship. This is basic, and without it all other efforts at interracial comity are mere kid-glove contacts, well meaning but of little effect.

Unfashionable Conviction, by Bernard Iddings Bell. Harper & Brothers, New York. 190 pp. $2.00.

To be perfectly fair to Mr. Bell, it must be said that this is a good book of its kind. But this kind of book is becoming a bit wearisome. The trouble is that such a book usually pulls out all the stops in proclaiming the shortcomings of science and lays too much stress on the eternal principles that are supposed to govern human action. No genuine scientist ever supposed that science is free from errors. In fact, a major part of the work of the scientist is to check his findings, discover errors, make corrections and repeat the processes. Even then he regards his conclusions as tentative. This well-known practice of the scientist is sufficient reply to the writers who herald the shortcomings of science as new discoveries. Genuine religion is not advanced by flippantly dismissing the most profound scholars, or by loyalty to "the older orthodoxies of a religion that can never become outworn."

I should like to propose a commission, if commissions are not just now in too much ill repute, to make a psychological study of spiritual reversions. What happened to Papini and what has happened to Bernard Iddings Bell? What deep longings lead such men backward? To what extent does the desire to be different from one's peers lead to the championing of older orthodoxies or, for that matter, to the invention of new heresies? Pending the creation of the proposed commission, let us look at one of Mr. Bell's unfashionable convictions, namely "the necessity of religious discipline for him who would come at truth." The validity of this conviction, of course, depends upon the kind of religion meant, and the nature of the truth sought. By religion, Mr. Bell means "an intuitive personal relationship existing between man and woman and the ultimate person." However desirable religion as thus described may be, it can hardly be regarded as necessary in the quest for truth—that is, unless truth should be conveniently defined so as to be limited to the kinds of experience that fit into Mr. Bell's definition of religion. Obviously, effective truths of both a scientific and esthetic nature have been discovered by non-theistic scientists and religionists, but what are historical facts when definitions are at stake!

Still Mr. Bell would not want to be associated with a definition. He prefers "pictures" when dealing with religious matters. Undoubtedly pictures serve useful ends in all thinking but, strangely enough, in view of the title of the book, the most popular intellectual pastime today is the substitution of pictures for rigorous thinking, and too often the pictures are blurred. This way lies confusion!

CURTIS W. REESE.

Correspondence

Commonwealth College Summer Camp

Editor of UNITY:

There must be many liberal-minded people who in planning their vacations would like to combine with recreation an opportunity to look into some of the important problems of the day. The Commonwealth College Summer Camp is being started this year to afford such an opportunity to workers, students, professional people and others at a total cost of a dollar a day or less.

The camp site is the Commonwealth College campus at Mena, Arkansas, in the beautiful Ozark woods. Commonwealth, a workers' education project, operates its own farm and communal activities as a means of enabling its students to "earn their way," and this principle of part-time work has been extended to the camp. Visitors who put in fifteen hours work at mending fences or peeling potatoes can participate in the community life at a cost of $25 a month or $1 a day for room, board, laundry service, and educational features. Non-working guests pay double. Proceeds help maintain Commonwealth.

Discussion circles will be held on "The Labor Movement Today," "Looking Behind the News," and "The Changing Thought of a Machine Age." Visitors may also audit regular college classes by permission. There will be swimming, hiking, dancing, and a labor theater. The camp runs from June through September, and length of stay is optional.

HAROLD COY.

Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas.

A Personal Letter from Spain

Dear Miss S.:

" . . . Senora de O. is much disturbed over the propaganda going on in foreign newspapers against the Republic. She is, as you may suppose, an ardent Republican, and attributes much of this propaganda to Italian Fascist activities. Many tourists are deterred from coming to Spain, and the value of the peseta reduced, by false accounts of violence and rebellion against the government.

"I was in Valencia on the 14th (anniversary of the Republic) and was in Palma during the President's visit, and I saw no signs of disturbance on either occasion. At Palma I was in the very thickest of the crowd, nearly opposite the Ayuntamento. If they had had loud speakers I could have heard the President's speech. Everyone was friendly and as peaceable as a crowd could be. At Valencia I went to the park and watched the maneuvers of the troops. There were crowds of people there, but no sign of disturbance. There were fireworks at night, but nothing occurred that was unpleasant, so far as I could learn. Here in Madrid I believe some convent windows were stoned during the holiday period, but I can recall some very unpeaceful nights in (my home town) Holbrook on the eve of the Fourth of July, which nobody took for a hostile demonstration against the state!

"I see no reason why tourists should not visit Spain as freely as ever; and the rate of exchange makes it a very moderate-priced trip to take just now. There were a good many English in Palma, driven out of France by the low

value of the pound. Some had come there to live for an indefinite period. . . ."

F.

A Personal Letter from Russia

Dear Mr. Holmes:

I am here in the North of Russia, a very small primitive town—no baths, no running water, a very long winter, nothing but snow and ice. . . My work is not hard, just correcting things and teaching new things that the men have not done before. I am getting a nice salary, 450 rubles a month, but nothing to buy! So I already have a bank account. But what will I do with it?

Russia is now liquidating illiterates, and it is very interesting how they do it. A Party member came to the factory one day and told the workers that it is impossible to build Socialism with illiterates. "You will have to go to school," he said, and they are going—everybody up to fifty years of ago. If one has children and can't go to school, the teachers go to the homes. . . .

H. H.

What God?

Editor of UNITY:

"Labor needs a God—an ethical God," Edmund B. Chaffee said in UNITY of April 4. He well adds—"not the conventional God," not God in heaven, and no more the God merely of philosophers; but the God of truth, righteousness and justice, the God who is "against every form of injustice and domination." But he says little more than this as to the nature of the God needed. How much more *can* anyone say to help Labor—and the rest of the world—find the God needed?

Of course we wish to keep all that is really good in the old, in the old God and the ideals of Jesus and the other prophets, as well as in the old morality and the old economics and politics. But though we may still get help from Kipling's "Recessional," far more we need a processional. More than the

"God of our fathers, known of old"

we need the

God of our children, not yet known.

Gone forever is the

"Lord of our far-flung battle-line";

and we look in vain for

God in the trench, and submarine,
In armored battleship, and tank;
God in machine gun, and in gas,
In bombs, with deaf'ning, dead'ning din,
Tearing men and the world to shreds.

Labor and the rest of the world may well call, as I wrote further two years ago:

Lord God of peace, when comest Thou?
God of righteousness, beauty, love,
When comest Thou? When comest Thou?
Great God of life, our children's God,
Be with them soon, lest they despair;
That they may live, that they may rise!

And yet do we really help to solve any problems by calling on any God?

Let us grant that man is incurably religious, and that it is a waste of time and energy to attack religion. As "the focalizing force in men's lives," we need religion, "a really operative religion—by which alone man can live deeply, harmoniously and progressively with his fellows," as Percival Chubb says in his recent book. Ninety years ago Carlyle wrote in "Past and Present"—"In the ancient dialect, we 'have forgotten God';—we have quietly closed our eyes to the eternal Substance of things, and opened them only to the Shows and Shams."

But now to increasing numbers, religion means devotion, not to God, but to the good or the best—to truth, beauty, righteousness. And may not such devotion to the best, to the highest ideals of the great teachers of past and present and future, even more than belief in any God, give men and women not only personal morality and staying power but also "flaming zeal" and the greatest source of energy?

HAROLD K. ESTABROOK.

Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.

A Word Worth Having!

Editor of UNITY:

Let me celebrate the shades of my "Revolutionary" ancestors, by thanking you for your loyalty to the true principles of "liberty" and "revolution"—"The Christian Revolution!" As I look back over any collection of back numbers I find more perennially living material in little UNITY than in almost any sheet that comes to our tables. And if there be any oppression, any under dog with a shade of right on his side and all the world against him—look for the truth about his side in UNITY.

On this basis I have looked the world over for a *newspaper* that I could send to my brother-in-law, an artist, now in southern France. He knows and loves India, and writhes under English reporting—most of it. The only sheet that seems to still consider India "news" and "fit to print," is yours. Please send me a dollar's worth beginning with April 4th.

ALPHA W. BARLOW, Librarian.

Trowbridge Reference Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Another

Editor of UNITY:

This wonderful publication is so thoroughly enjoyed by Mr. A. F. S. that I thank you a thousand times for this opportunity of continuing to please a very, very good, dear friend. My subscription expires soon, so the enclosed $6.00 renews for both.

I. F. B.

El Monte, Cal.

And Still Another

Editor of UNITY:

. . . UNITY is certainly doing service with which no other organ in America at the moment competes. I am disappointed in the position which the ——— has editorially taken in regard to British Government in India. It seems to be based on absolute ignorance of the history of British rule in India, or an abandonment of democratic principles, or both.

W.

Heath, Mass.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 210)

inquiry is turned within. We, at last, agree with Pope, who said:

"Know then thyself, presume not God to scan.
The proper study of Mankind is Man."

"The twentieth century belongs to psychology," says Will Durant. "Before our children pass away, men will be building character as they now build ships and planes."

In Detroit, an organization known as the Pathfinders of America, is doing just this. Functioning as an agency auxiliary to the Board of Education, they are engaged in "Human Engineering"—training boys and girls in right conduct in a forceful, interesting way in the public schools of Detroit. They have successfully separated a "religion of conduct" from doctrinal religion. Nowhere in their lessons and discussions does the word "religion" or "God" enter; the Bible is never quoted, nor any religious prophet. That would be fatal where they must appeal to so many nationalities, colors and creeds. And yet they are succeeding in doing what all modern religions would certainly claim as their objective—building character to stand any strain; teaching the simple virtues of honest, duty and helpfulness; showing the individual what his personal responsibilities are and his duties to society. What religion does more?

It was Socrates who said, "If one could build a system of morality absolutely independent of religious doctrine, as valid for the atheist as for the pietist, then theologies might come and go without loosening the moral cement that makes of willful individuals the peaceful citizens of a community."

Perhaps mankind has just confused terms. Today, knowing something about ourselves for the first time, may not *good* mean *intelligent* and *virtue* mean *wisdom?* and *ignorance, weakness?* Are these not synonyms in this enlightened day?

In the Human Engineering program in the Detroit schools, a child is taught that he is punished *by* his sins, and not *for* them. He is shown that every good and bad act has a consequence as inescapable as his own shadow; that he, and not his chum or parent or teacher

will suffer from his misdeeds. That he is his own best friend or worst enemy, as he wills; that the universal law of cause and effect is operative in his every thought and act, just as it is in nature. He is trained to be loyal, not to external objects, but to his accumulated ideals. This is being done in Detroit, by specially trained and qualified men instructors, not *lecturing*, but *discussing*, in a frank, manly way, a series of carefully graded lessons in conduct. Suppose this is done, from the fourth grade through high school, in *every* school. Then who will be our criminals of tomorrow? No one ever planned a crime who was convinced in his own mind that crime did not pay. Plenty of them have planned a crime knowing it was wrong, or unethical, or contrary to religious teaching. Mere awareness does not condition conduct. But true knowledge, born of reason and thoughtful experience—not forgiveness, does.

Education has given man all that sets him apart from his unfortunate brother of the Dark Ages. It is the same man, plus a trained mind, today. Education has produced physicians, lawyers, engineers, and scientists. Can it not produce good citizens? Is it so much harder to teach conduct than chemistry? Is how to live less important than how to earn a living?

"The art of living, or ethics," believed David Starr Jordan, "can fall back on no final authority. That is right which, in the long run, justifies itself in more abundant life. . . . Conscience, even though backed by a will to do right, needs training and instruction."

A great educator says, "No other gain since the war is of such moment as the social and civic trend of public school instruction." It is true, and when we recognize that there can be extracted from existing religions a "religion of conduct" that is universal in its application, and in perfect accord with human experience, we will have gone far toward strengthening this gain. LYNDON BABCOCK.

Petition

Submitted in the form of a resolution by the Committee for Total Disarmament Now, organized by the Women's Peace Union of the U. S. A., to the World Disarmament Conference meeting in Geneva, 1932.

Whereas, It is essential to the Peace and Welfare of the World that this Conference shall not discuss and perpetuate armaments but shall provide for genuine disarmament, the actual laying down of arms by the peoples of the World; and

Whereas, The greater number of the Nations represented at this Conference are signatory to the General Pact of Paris, August 27, 1928, whereby they have mutually renounced war as an instrument of national policy and have mutually pledged one another that no future disputes of whatever origin of whatever nature shall be settled by other than peaceful means; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Conference be ever mindful of the fact that it is representative of Nations which have renounced war, and that it refuses to concern itself with the discussion of war plans and war preparations, or with such matters as budgets, percentages, man power, effectives, gun elevations, or with any other detail of the organized crime of war, the deliberation on which presupposes the continuation of the war system; and be it further

Resolved, That this Conference agrees to draft and recommend to each of the National Governments represented here

(1) A treaty providing for Immediate, Universal and Complete Disarmament;

(2) Amendments to the Constitutions or other fundamental statutes of the Nations, which will make it legally impossible, under the domestic law of each and every Nation, to prepare for, declare or carry on war, or any form of armed invasion or intervention.

(Such Amendments or legislative acts to be similar in scope and purpose to the proposed Independent Disarmament Amendment of the United States, Senate Joint Resolution 3.)

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